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I.—THE BEGINNING OF ITALIAN INFLUENCE
IN ENGLISH PROSE FICTION

“The probationary period of translation . . . marks the first stage in the development of prose fiction,” writes Professor J. W. H. Atkins,¹ and inspection of even a few Elizabethan novels will convince one that the type is not indigenous to English soil. The use of the love affair, of realism in the telling, of ordinary people in ordinary surroundings, of the rival and the confidante, of even the minor love affair, and of a plot with well marked stages and characters influenced by events² would have been impossible to English novelists without the example of their Italian predecessors. Before *Euphues* or *The Adventures passed by Master F. I.* or *The Golden Aphroditis* can be adequately accounted for, the contribution of Italy must be studied, not alone through such collections as Painter’s

¹ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. III, Ch. XVI, “Elizabethan Prose Fiction,” p. 390. Putnam’s, N. Y., 1911.

² Dr. Percy Waldron Long, “From Troilus to Euphues,” *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, Boston, 1913, p. 367.

Pallace of Pleasure (1566-67) and Fenton's *Tragicall Discourses* (1567), but—and this is of more importance—through single works outside collections, which were of sufficient length and interest to bear the test of printing as separate volumes.

In 1560 appeared *The Goodli History of the moste noble & beautifull Ladye Lucre of Scene in Tuskan, and of her louer Eurialus, verye pleasaunt and delectable vnto the reder.*³ Copland may possibly have printed an edition as early as 1550.⁴ At all events, the edition of J. Kynge in 1560 was not the first. The date of the first English version depends upon conjecture, but 1560, even though it yield ten years, is sure. *Lucre*, so far as I know, was the first English translation of an Italian *novella* for its own sake,⁵ and with it the influence of

³ In *The Historie of Plasidas, and other rare pieces*, The Roxburghe Club, 1873, with introduction by H. H. Gibbs *Lucre* is one of the "rare pieces." To it Professor Carleton Brown first called my attention.

⁴ *Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum*, s. v. Pius II, C. 21. c. Esdaile, *List of English Tales and Prose Romances printed before 1740*, Bibliographical Society, 1912, lists this edition as undated. Hazlitt, according to H. H. Gibbs (Preface to the Roxburghe Club's reprint, p. vi) would date it "c. 1549," while "Lowndes mentions one by W. Copland, of 1547." As Gibbs suggests, this last date is probably an error for 1567. Esdaile lists the edition of 1560 in the British Museum (Huth, 51), which Gibbs also mentions on p. vi as the property of Henry Huth. Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, trans. Elizabeth Lee, 1890, mentions (p. 82) "one before 1550," evidently without verification. Laneham's Captain Cox possessed a copy of "*Lucre and Eurialus*" (*Robert Laneham's Letter*, Ed. Furnivall, N. Y., Duffield, 1907, p. 30), which Furnivall discusses at length as a "somewhat warm" story "for an embryo Pope to have written" (Intro., pp. xxxix ff.).

⁵ Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour*, Book II, Ch. XII (Ed. Crofts, Vol. II, pp. 132 ff.) rehearses the story of Titus and Gisippus (Boccaccio, *Decameron*, Day 10, Novella viii) "to recreate the redars which . . . desire varietie of mater" with "a right good-

Italy upon Elizabethan prose fiction may be said to have begun.

Before 1560, the only type of prose fiction largely current in England was the medieval romance. The Greek novel "represented in the work of Iamblichus, Xenophon of Ephesus, Heliodorus, Tatius, Chariton, . . . Eustathius, and . . . Longus" ⁶ had not touched Elizabethan England, and its influence is negligible. In the diffusion of the prose romance in English Caxton had been the pioneer, with his editions of *The Recuyell of the History of Troye* (1475?), the *History of Jason* (1477), *Godefroy of Bologne* (1481), *Reynart the Foxe* (1481), *Charles the Grete of Fraunce* (1485), *Le Morte Dar-*

ly example of frendship." Of this Wynkyn de Worde had printed a rhymed version by William Walter. Elyot rendered through the Latin of Beroaldo. Elyot's purpose is therefore half didactic. In 1556 two editions appeared of the *Histoire de Aurelio et Isabelle* . . . *Historia di Aurelio e Issabella* . . . *Historia de Aurelio, y de Ysabela* . . . *The Historie of Aurelio and of Isabell* . . . *In foure langagies, Frenche, Italien, Spanish, and Inglishe*. Of this Miss Mary Augusta Scott in her *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. x) Part I: Romances, p. 250, writes, "The polyglot editions show that Aurelia and Isabell was a favorite romance. It is attributed to Jean de Flores, and was translated from the Spanish into Italian by Lelio Aletifilo and into French by G. Corrozet." This was undoubtedly a text-book to be used in acquiring foreign languages, and its purpose was pedagogic.

⁶ A. J. Tiejé, *The Critical Heritage of Fiction in 1579, Englische Studien*, XLVII (1913), p. 415. Search in Miss Henrietta R. Palmer's *List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics printed before 1641*, Bibliographical Society, 1911, and in the *Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum* shows that Heliodorus was first englished in *The Histoire of Chariclea and Theogenes*, which appeared in *The Amorous and Tragical Tales of Plutarch, whereunto is annexed the History of Caricles and Theoginis* . . . translated by Ja. Sanferd, 1567; Longus, in Angell Day's *Daphnis and Chloe*, 1587. *Cetera desunt*. Ovid's *Narcissus* was rendered as verse in 1560.

thur (1485), *Blanchardine and Eglantine* (1489), and *The Four Sons of Aymon* (1489?). His example was followed by De Worde, Pynson, and other printers, who not only issued fresh editions of some of these romances, but also struck out for themselves.⁷ Before 1560 I find only two works which fall under the suspicion of being original English fiction. The first, *Of a Merchau [n] tes Wyfe that afterwarde went Lyke a Ma[n] and becam a greate Lorde and was Called Frederyke of Jennen afterwarde* (1518), was printed by J. Dusborowghe and reprinted by both Pynson and Vele. The second was *A Lyttle Treatyse Called the Image of Idlenesse, contaynyng certain matters moued between Walter Wedlocke and Bawdin Bachelor . . . by Olyuer Oldwanton, and dedicated to the Lady Lust*⁸ (1558). The former was

⁷ Among these romances and medieval stories Esdaile or Miss Palmer lists the following pieces: De Worde, without date, *Gesta Romanorum*; *Joseph of Arimathea*; *Valentine and Orson* (two other editions by Copland); *The Dystruccyon of Iherusalem by Vespasian and Tytus* (another edition by Pynson, and one by De Worde, 1528); *Robert the Devil*; 1499, Mandeville's *Travels* (other editions by Pynson, N. D., De Worde, 1503, and East, 1568); c. 1499, *The Thre Kynges of Coleyne* (1511, 1526, 1530); 1510, *Kynge Appolyn of Thyre*; 1511, *Ponthus* (1548); 1512, *The Knyght of the Swanne . . . Helyas* (second edition by Copland); 1518, *Olyuer of Castylle, and . . . fayre Helayne daughter unto the Kynge of England*. Pynson, 1513, *The Hystorye [of the] Sege and Destruccon of Troye* (Marshe, 1555; Paynell, 1553). Other printers, without date, *Kyng Wylllyam of Palerne*; *Surdyt King of Ireland*; *Ye. vii Wyse Maysters of Rome*; 1518, *Virgilius* (Copland, 1561); J. Duisbrowgh: Anwarpe (sic), 1518?, *Mary of Nemmegen*; *The Parson of Kalenborowe*, 1520?; N. D., *Arthur of Lytle Britain*; *The Boke of the Cyte of Ladyes*, 1521; Berners, 1548?, *The Castell of Love . . . whiche boke treateth of the love betwene Leriano and Laureola* (two other editions, N. D.); 1551, More, *Utopia*; 1553, *The Historie of Quintus Curtius, Conteyning the Actes of the greate Alexander*.

⁸ The title curiously anticipates Fullwood's *Inimie of Idleness* (1568), the first English letter-writer.

probably a translation of a German chap-book; the latter may have been a dialogue; both may be dismissed without comment in view of the predominance of the medieval romance in fiction before 1560. In that year the direct influence of Italy began in *Lucres*.

This novel, written in 1444 by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, enjoyed extraordinary popularity. Of it we may note before 1500 one manuscript and no less than seventy-three European editions,⁹ printed in Italy, Germany, France, Holland, and Spain. By 1560 at least seven more versions had appeared on the Continent. It was undoubtedly one of the most read stories of the whole Renaissance.

Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterward Pope Pius II, born at Corsignano, the son of a noble of decayed estate, proceeded in 1423 to the university at Siena,¹⁰ where at that time was lecturing Mariano de' Sozzini, professor of jurisprudence, one of the torch-bearers of humanism. To him the youth attached himself with the ardor of hero-worship,¹¹ and for him, at Sozzini's request, he wrote

⁹ In listing and checking editions I have used R. A. Peddie, *Conspectus Incunabulorum*, Part I, London, 1910, who enters a total of sixty-two editions before 1500; Hain, *Reportorium Bibliographicum*, 1826; Coppinger, *Supplement to Hain's Reportorium*, 1898; Esdaile, *English Tales and Romances*; Gibbs's Preface to the Roxburghe Club's reprint; Miss Scott's *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, I; and the *Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum*, s. v. Pius II. Mr. Peddie's total is by far the largest. Hain cites thirty-six editions. M. Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, p. 81, writes, "It went through twenty-three editions in the fifteenth century, and was eight times translated." All these counts are considerably under the actual number of editions.

¹⁰ Cecilia M. Ady, *Pius II.*, London, 1913, pp. 3, 8.

¹¹ Ady, p. 13. Compare Æneas Sylvius, *De Viris Illustribus*, *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, 1842, Vol. I, p. 27, "De Mariano Socino Senensis," in which Æneas draws a most flattering character of his old teacher.

De Duobus Amantibus, the original of *Luces*. In 1432 the Emperor Sigismund visited Siena, bringing in his train one of his favorites, Count Gaspar Schlick, a German nobleman, to whom Sylvius later became strongly attached.¹² More than a year before the Emperor's arrival, Æneas had left Siena,¹³ but this evidently did not prevent his hearing of the intrigue of the Count with the wife of a Sienese gentleman; for later in a letter to the nobleman, which forms the preface to *De Duobus Amantibus*, he delicately reminds him of his escapade.¹⁴ That, as has been tentatively suggested, this amour should have concerned the wife of Mariano de' Sozzini,¹⁵ is impossible for two reasons: first, Æneas from motives of prudence would hardly have answered his teacher's request for a story with the tale of his wife's unfaithfulness, for the mere physical consequences would probably have deterred even so prudential a spirit as the future Pius II, however much the irony might have appealed to him; and secondly, the younger man seems to have been too sincerely devoted to his old master, even allowing for the exaggerations of courtesy, to exhibit him in

¹² Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, Vol. II, p. 242: "At first Æneas wished to play the part of Horace to a second Mæcenas; but he soon learned to change his strain, and adapt himself to the requirements of his patron's practical nature." Schlick even gave his dependent a place at his table.

¹³ Ady, p. 13.

¹⁴ Roxburghe Club's reprint of *Luces*, *Appendix*, p. xxxiv: "Ideo historiam hanc vt legas precor, et an vera scripserim videas. Nec reminisci te pudeat si quid huiusmodi non numquam euenerut tibi; homo enim fueras, qui numquam sensit amoris ignes aut lapis aut bestia est." Compare Voigt, *Enea Silvio*, pp. 299, 300.

¹⁵ Zannoni, *Per la storia di due amanti* (Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, serie iv, vol. VI, pp. 116-127, Rome, 1890) cited by Mrs. Ady, *Pius II*, p. 16, n. 2.

the horned rôle. That the name of the servant Sosias, whom in the story Lucretia finally makes her confidant, resembles in appearance the Latin form *Zosinus*, cannot be admitted as of weight in the identification. If, then, one accept the Eurialus of the novel as Count Schlick,¹⁶ Lucretia must remain unidentified.

Thus, though the heroine be not the wife of Sozzini, the situation of the *novella* has a definable basis of fact. But a realistic situation does not make a realistic novel. It is therefore necessary, first, to examine the plot, then to determine how far Æneas Sylvius attempted to reproduce recorded events, and finally to see what means he took to assure artistic verisimilitude.

The story of *De Duobus Amantibus* runs as follows:—¹⁷

On the entry of the Emperor Sigismund into Siena, he was greeted by a quartette of matrons, among whom the Lady Lucretia, wife of Menelaus, to whom she had been married against her will, excelled in beauty. With her the courtier Eurialus, a Franconian noble, fell desperately in love, and she reciprocated his affection. Midway between the Emperor's court and the house of Eurialus stood the residence of the curmudgeon Menelaus, and Lucretia from her windows prosecuted successfully her flirtation with the courtier as he passed to and from the royal presence. One day the Emperor, riding by with his train, jestingly thrust the bonnet of Eurialus over his eyes with the remark, "*Nec videbis . . . quod amas; ego hoc spectaculo fruor.*" The lady, burning with love, attempted to enlist the aid of her husband's servant Sosias, but he, mindful of the honor of the house, rebuked her; whereupon she threatened suicide. Sosias half-heartedly yielded, and he declared her love to Eurialus so enigmatically that the knight failed to understand him. At last Eurialus could endure his torment no longer. He dispatched to Lucretia a letter, evidently written at dictation by a professional scribe, in which he declared his

¹⁶ Compare Creighton, vol. II, p. 247, and also Rossi, *Storia Letteraria*, "Il Quattrocento," pp. 126-27.

¹⁷ Condensed from the *novella* as reprinted in the Roxburghe Club's *Historie of Sir Plasidas*, pp. xxxvi, ff.

love, but he sent it by a procuress. The cautious Lucretia spurned the bawd and tore up the letter in her presence, but on the woman's departure she collected the bits, read them, and covered them with a thousand kisses. Thus began their correspondence. Eurialus was a little hindered by his ignorance of Italian; so he set diligently to work to learn the language, a study in which love spurred him on. An attempt on the part of Lucretia to arrange an interview through the innocent connivance of her mother miscarried because of the older woman's sudden suspicion.

At this juncture Eurialus was sent by the Emperor to Rome to treat with the Pope in regard to the coronation, a mission which kept him some two months. During this time Lucretia languished, but on the return of her lover she regained her spirits, in particular when Nysus, the friend of Eurialus, found in an inn a room which had a window near Lucretia's chamber. Thus the two lovers were enabled to snatch interviews and even to exchange tokens. Sosias, seeing how public the affair was like to become, decided to aid his mistress. With his aid Eurialus disguised himself as a porter, one of a number engaged in putting grain into the cellar, and thus made his way to his lady. Even as he held her fast, Sosias knocked, with the word that Menelaus had returned unexpected. With the husband came a scribe, Bertus, on business connected with the city. Lucretia, quick of resource, hid her lover in a closet. But certain papers which Menelaus had to have were missing; they were probably in the very closet in which Eurialus was hidden. By upsetting a box of jewels into the street, Lucretia gained the time it took for her husband and the scribe to recover them, and thus saved Eurialus. At last the intruders departed and left the lovers to themselves. But Eurialus was nervous; he found it impossible to enjoy his stay. So he, too, went, clad in his porter's disguise, wondering what the Emperor would say if he encountered his servant in those garments.

Now appeared another follower of the Emperor, Pacorus, a Pannonian, who by means of a note concealed in the stalks of a bunch of violets sought to serve Lucretia. But she, both prudent and true to Eurialus, informed Menelaus, who complained to the Emperor. For a time Pacorus was silent. At length on a winter's day he joined a group of young Sieneſe bloods snowballing with some ladies in their windows, and, cunningly enclosing a note in wax and that in a snowball, he cast it into Lucretia's room. But unfortunately the snowball fell into the fire, the wax melted, Menelaus read the missive, "*nouasque lites excitauerunt quas Pacorus non excusatione sed fuga vitauit.*"

Meanwhile Menelaus was called away. Eurialus, in the hope of seeing his lady, concealed himself in the stable, whence, after being nearly pitchforked by Dromo, a servant feeding the horses, he was rescued by the quick wits of Sosias; but this expedient procured him only a scant hour with Lucretia, because Menelaus returned. The lovers fell upon evil days. But Pandalus, a relation of Menelaus, aided them, hoping thereby to gain political advancement. Once more Menelaus was summoned away for the night. According to agreement Eurialus, with his friend Achates waiting outside, forced himself in at a door, only to have his lady faint with joy in his arms. She soon revived, and they reaped the fruits of love.

But the Emperor, being reconciled with the Pope, left Siena for Rome. Eurialus made the mistake of not informing Lucretia, thinking to spare her feelings. In an exchange of letters she begged her lover to take her with him, and he swore to return to her. They parted. At Rome Eurialus was taken sick of a fever, but he recovered in time to be knighted at the coronation. When the Emperor moved to Perugia, the lover, too ill to accompany him, stayed for a time in Rome, then returned to Siena. But he could procure only a glimpse of his lady. Again they parted, this time forever. Lucretia died of a broken heart. Eurialus was compelled to follow the Emperor to Perugia, then to Ferrara, Mantua, Tridentum, Constantia, and Basel, and into Hungary and Bohemia. He found no consolation till Sigismund gave him a beautiful girl to wife.

Now in this plot one is surprised to observe the accuracy with which Æneas Sylvius employed historical events. Sigismund reached Siena in July, 1432.¹⁸ Here he determined to remain till he could go to Rome to be crowned. At every turn he was opposed by the Pope, Eugenius IV. But Eugenius discovered that matters were going against him and within the month he had renewed negotiations with Sigismund.¹⁹ Affairs dragged on with the attitude of the Council at Basel becoming daily more troublesome. At

¹⁸ Creighton, vol. II, p. 76. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Ed. F. I. Antrobus, London, 1902, vol. I, gives an account of these events so unpolitical as to be almost useless in the present investigation.

¹⁹ Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, vol. II, p. 76.

Siena the position of Sigismund, deserted by his allies, was grown pitiable enough, but he was still determined to pacificate Italy and to be crowned Emperor. Eugenius, wearying of the struggle, had already made overtures, and about the end of March or the first of April, Sigismund seems to have sent envoys to Rome for the purpose of treating with the Pope. Of this embassy Eurialus, that is, Count Schlick, may have been a member. On April 7, 1432, the preliminaries of the coronation were adjusted.²⁰ Sigismund probably left Siena between May 9, the day on which he dispatched envoys to Basel urging the Council to treat kindly the Papal legates, and May 19, two days before he entered Rome.²¹ Among his six hundred knights rode the disconsolate Eurialus, just parted from his Lucretia. On Whit Sunday, May 31, 1433, Sigismund was crowned Emperor. Of the knights dubbed on the bridge of San Angelo by Sigismund in the exercise of his new authority, one was his chancellor, Gaspar Schlick.²²

The summer Sigismund spent in Rome with the Pope. But toward the middle of August the Emperor became aware that his presence was needed at Basel. Accordingly on August 21 he set out. Eurialus, just recovering from his fever, could not accompany him, and this opportunity he snatched for his final parting with Lucretia, rejoining the suite at Perugia. The route of the Emperor lay through Rimini, Ferrara, Mantua, and thence to Basel,²³ where he arrived on October 11 and stayed till May 19, 1434.²⁴ With Cardinal Capriano to Basel had gone his new secretary Æneas Sylvius, whose relations with Count Schlick probably began at this time.²⁵

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, p. 83.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

Later movements of the Emperor and his suite are somewhat more uncertain. On account of trouble with the Bohemians Sigismund and the envoys of the Council met representatives of the country in Brünn in the early summer of 1435. By this time it is possible that the heart of Eurialus had sufficiently healed for him to espouse the beautiful virgin proposed by Sigismund.²⁶ The Emperor appeared on July 1, two weeks after the Bohemians and six after the men sent by the Council. Undoubtedly this gathering is that which Eurialus attended. As to the expedition into Hungary mentioned in the *novella* less can be said with certainty. Trouble in that country was intermittent from 1413 till 1437, when the Empress Barbara instituted the conspiracy to elevate Ladislas of Poland to the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary. Sigismund, on discovering the plot, having as one remaining ambition the securing of the throne of Hungary to Albert, left Prague on November 11, 1437,²⁷ in an open litter accompanied by the Empress and the Count of Cilly, and reached Znaym on November 21. On this last journey Count Schlick as Imperial Chancellor undoubtedly accompanied his master. Sigismund died at Znaym on December 9, 1437. Schlick's disgrace and downfall under Frederick III shortly preceded the Chancellor's death in July, 1449.²⁸

Thus, if the situation of the *novella* is based on fact, the incidents, so far as they can be corroborated by historical evidence, are no less precisely grounded. In that

²⁶ Roxburghe Club, Appendix, p. lxvi. If Eurialus reached Basel after he had married, the order of the events in the novel is slightly confused.

²⁷ Creighton, vol. II, p. 161.

²⁸ Ady, *Pius II*, p. 111.

impression of circumstantiality which Æneas wished to produce upon his patron he was no doubt successful.

Much the same can be said of his choice of episodes and details, though here, of course, there can be no such sure check. The exactness with which the location of Menelaus's house is fixed with reference to the court and the lodgings of Eurialus; the Emperor's jest; Sosias's unusual declaration of Lucretia's love; the incident of the bawd and Eurialus's first letter; his ignorance of Italian; his nervousness and his inability to enjoy his stay when at last left alone with his lady; the ingenuity of Pacorus; the conventional picture of Sienese life in winter; the saving of Eurialus in the stable from the pitchfork of Dromo; the covetousness of Pandarus as a motive for his betrayal of his cousin's honor,—these are but a few of the means whereby Æneas strove to gain verisimilitude. Nor is the character of Sigismund forgotten;²⁹ if he had met Eurialus as a porter, he would have made his servant the most miserable man in Siena.

That such a document, written in youth by Pope Pius II, involving persons of high rank, and containing a story exceptionally well told, should have been among³⁰ the first translations from the Italian *novella* into English prose is not surprising. As the names of the chief characters show, it is a product of the humanism of the Renaissance.³¹ Æneas Sylvius twice visited England

²⁹ Æneas Sylvius, *De Viris Illustribus*, p. 65: "Fuit autem Sigismund . . . vasto animo . . . vini cupidus . . . in Venerem ardens, mille adulteriis criminosus . . . facilis ad veniam," etc. For illustration of some of these traits, cf. "De Barbara Imperatrice," p. 46. Such a monarch would have chaffed Eurialus unmercifully.

³⁰ Elyot had, it will be recalled, rendered the tale of Titus and Gisippus from one version of the *Decameron* for his *Governour*.

³¹ Cf. Rossi, "Il Quattrocento," *Storia Letteraria d'Italia*, Ed. Valardi, Milano, 1897-98, vol. v, pp. 126-27.

in the autumn of 1435.³² He also went once to Scotland. On his first visit to England his doings were mostly diplomatic; in Scotland, whither he journeyed *via* Sluys after returning to Bruges, not only was he well received by James I, but on his return through England he suffered shipwreck, hardship, threatened attack by the Scots on the border, and other misadventures. His comments on both England and Scotland are shrewd and detailed, such, indeed, as might be expected from the diplomat-realist of *De Duobus Amantibus*.³³ That, however, this visit had aught to do with the selection of the novel for translation into English is doubtful; the extraordinary popularity of the work in other countries would have been enough to attract a reader of Italian fiction who was commercially inclined. Furthermore, some of Æneas's eclogues had already reached England in the translations of Alexander Barclay.

The exact text which the English translator of the novel used is not identifiable; in any event, the edition of 1567, as reprinted by the Roxburghe Club, was not rendered from the Argentine edition of 1476, nor yet from the version of 1490.³⁴ But before 1550, the earliest

³² Ady, p. 41. Creighton, vol. II, pp. 236-239. Pastor, vol. I, p. 342, gives the date as 1438. But in 1438 Æneas accompanied the Bishop of Novara to Vienna and suffered at Basel with the plague (Creighton, vol. II, p. 240). By 1438 he had passed from the Cardinal's service.

³³ Creighton, vol. II, pp. 237 ff., citing Æneas Sylvius, *Epistolae*, cxxvi; Ady, pp. 41, ff., relying on *Commentarii*, Lib. I, p. 4, and the *Epistolae*, *loc. cit.* For Æneas's impressions of James I, cf. *De Viris Illustribus*, pp. 46-47; of Henry V, *ibid.*, pp. 40 ff.

³⁴ The Latin versions of the story involved are (1) the Argentine print (1476) of the Vienna MS. (1446), and (2) the edition of 1490. (1) is reprinted in the Roxburghe Club's Appendix, pp. xxxiii, ff., with collations from (2). I have in part collated this version with the English of 1567, which may have been a reprint of the edition of

possible date for an English version, so far as we know, there existed renderings in Italian,³⁵ German,³⁶ Spanish,³⁷ and French.³⁸ The field of choice for the English translator was therefore texts in these four languages and in Latin.

A comparison of *The Goodli History of Lucres* with

1560; there is no reason to think that it was a separate redaction. A very few of the results of this collation may be tabulated as follows:

1476	1490	English
p. xxxvi: Vrbem Senas unde tibi et mihi origo est, intranti, etc. <i>Ibid.</i> : cophorum <i>Ibid.</i> : (sicut nos dicimus)	Like 1446. tophorum Like 1446.	p. 113: Lacking. <i>Ibid.</i> : Tophore <i>Ibid.</i> : Lacking.
p. xxxvii: Lacking. <i>Ibid.</i> : Lacking.	Et sic orpheus sono cithare siluas ac saxa fert traxisse, etc. Nunc auro illitis nunc muricis, etc.	p. 115: Lacking. <i>Ibid.</i> : Lacking
p. xl: postes <i>Ibid.</i> : Procia Cathonis	pisces porcia Cathonis	p. 119: poostes. p. 120: Perria.
p. xli: Omits name or pronoun.	Inserts <i>Eurialus</i>	p. 122: Uses pronoun.
p. xliv: Jason Medeam (cuius auxilio uigilem interemit dracorem, et uellus auream asportuit) reliquit, etc. <i>Ibid.</i> : Adriane	Jason Medeam decapit, etc. Ariadne	p. 128: Jason that wanne the golden flece by Medeas counsell, forsoke her. <i>Ibid.</i> : Adriana.
p. liv: Pacorus interea Pannonius eques, domo nobilis, qui cesarem sequebatur, ardere Luseresiam cepit.	Like 1476.	p. 142: In the mean tyme a knight, called Pacorus, of a noble House followinge the Emperour, began to loue Lucres, etc.
<i>Ibid.</i> : Tum anus, "Rescipe," inquit.	Tum Anus, 'Respice,' inquit.	p. 143: Take the floure madame quod ye olde wyfe, etc.

De Duobus Amantibus, which in the accessible Latin versions is unchanged, will show that the English translation differs from the original in certain rather important particulars. For the most part the two plots are identical until the close of the story. Here, however,

pp. liv-lv: Ille mestus Omits *domum pergit* Ibid.: goeth home,
domum pergit, vxor- to vxor. blameth hys wyfe, and
em increpat, domum fylleth all the house
que clamoribus implet, wythe noyse. And
negat se ream vxor, shee to the contrarye
remque gestam expo- denyeth that there is
nit, etc. one faute in her, and
tellynge the hole tale,
bryngethe the olde
wyfe for wytnesse.
(Last six words in
neither Latin text.)

p. lvi: Nec enim sine Like 1476.
te nox est mihi vlla
iocunda.

p. lvii: sicut Mene- sicut Menelaus suasit, p. 147: At Menelaus
laus suasit, in gratas magistratus expulit. persuasion was putte
expulit. out by the Aldermen.

³⁵ Pellechet, 170; Peddie, p. 8, N. D.: Proctor, *Index*, 5946; Peddie, p. 8, N. D.: *Historia di due amanti composto da Silvio Enea Pontifice Pio II*, etc. (Florentiae), N. D., Hain, 246: *Proemio . . . sopra la historia di due amanti: composta di papa Pio secundo* (Rome? 1495?) *Brit. Mus. Cat.*: *Æneae Silvii Historia de due Amanti, Firenz per Francesco de Dino di Iacopo, 1489*; Hain, 247: Reichling, *Appendices ad Hainii-Coppingeri Reportorium*; Peddie, p. 145, 1491, Brescia: *Historia de due Amanti . . . Bologna per Hercules Nani, 1492*, Hain, 248; Peddie, p. 8: *Epistole de dui amanti . . . Venetia, 1521*, other editions, 1531, 1554, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*

³⁶ *Der durchlüchtigen hochgeborenen fürstin vund frowen, frow Ketherinē hertzogin von Österreich*, etc. c. 1477, Coppinger, 73: Strassburg, 1500? Coppinger, 75; Peddie, p. 145: *Eneae Silvii von der Lieb Euryali und Lucrezia, zu Augsburg, 1473*, Hain, 241: *Der durchleuchtigen hoch geborenen Fürstin und frawen, frau katherinen Hertzogin von Österreich*, etc. 1477 [Esslingen], Hain, * 242, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*: [*Der dürchlüchtigen hochgeborenen fürstin vnd frowen, frow Ketherinē hertzogin von Österreich*, etc.] . . . Mentz . . . 1478, Cop-

Eurialus, instead of being easily consoled by the beautiful virgin given him by the Emperor, undergoes a far harder fate. "Whe[n] he knewe hys true louer to be deed, meaued by extreme doloure [Eurialus] clothed him in mournynge apparrell, and vtterly excluded all co[m]-forte, and yet though the Emperoure gaue hym in mariage a ryghte noble and excellent Ladye, yet he neuer enioyed after, but in conclusyon pitifully wasted his painful lyfe."³⁹ Such a violent change in the life and character of the hero could not have depended upon a misunderstanding of the Latin. It stands in direct contrast to the realism of the *novella*. Aside from this, the most important alteration in character concerns Dromo, the hostler. In *De Duobus Amantibus* he is a more or less

pinger, II, 74; Peddie, p. 145: *Ein hübsche histori von Lucrecia vñ den zwey liebhabendē menschen . . . Augsburg . . . 1491*, Coppinger, II, 3550; Peddie, p. 8: *Von den liebhabendē Eurialo vn Lucretia . . . 1536*, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*: *Ein . . . Histori, von zweyen Liebhabenden Menschen . . . N. von Weil . . . Wormbs [1550?]*, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*

³⁷ *Eurialus y Lucrecia*, Salamanca, Oct. 18, 1496, Coppinger, III, 72a; Peddie, p. 8: *Historia muy veradera de dos amantes Eurialo Franco y Lucrecio Senesa . . . Seville, 1512*, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*

³⁸ *Ensuyt listoire des deux vrays amans . . . a paris par michel le noir*, N. D., Hain, 245; . . . *Cy fine le liure des deux vrays amais . . . lyon par Oliuier Arnoullet*, N. D., Coppinger, 76: *Histoire de Eurialus et Lucrese. Selon Pape pie 1492*, Hain, 243; Peddie, p. 8, N. D.; Coppinger, [1493]: *Lystoire de Eurialus et Lucrese . . . (verse)*, [1493?] Hain, 244; Peddie, p. 8, N. D.; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*

³⁹ Roxburghe Club reprint, p. 161. Compare Jusserand, *English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, pp. 82, 83. The Latin text for this passage runs as follows (p. lxxvi): "Quam vt obiisse verus amator cognouit, magno dolore permotus lugubrem vestem recepit; nec consolationem admisit, nisi postquam Cesar ex ducali sanguine virginem sibi cum formosam tum castissimam atque prudentem matrimonio iunxit." Savj-Lopez recognizes types of character in *De Duobus Amantibus*, and also a relation to Boccaccio in the name Pandaro. ("Il Filostrato di G. Boccaccio," *Romania*, Vol. XXVII, p. 469). Voigt had previously noted the resemblance to Boccaccio (*Enea Silvio*, p. 287.) So, too, had Rossi ("Il Quattrocento," pp. 126-27).

conventional figure.⁴⁰ In *Luces* he becomes a humorous fellow of far greater interest. A type he may still be, but he is essentially an English figure with his racy complaining and his oaths,⁴¹ even though the suggestions for both are to be found in the Latin. Of changes which affect the *milieu* of the story, only a few can be noted. Æneas Sylvius wrote of Siena as he knew it. The English translator wrote of it as a city of romance. It would have been manifestly impossible for any translator to make use of Æneas's references to the town as his birth-place,⁴² and they therefore are omitted. Furthermore, the English version passes over certain moral reflections which retard the plot,⁴³ and alters a few of the classical allusions.⁴⁴ From all this, then, it may be seen that one of the translators, whether he who rendered the story into English or an intermediary from whose work the English version was taken, made some attempt to adapt the story to new readers. A collation of parts of the available texts with a view to establishing the presence or absence of an intermediary version in, say, French, has proved inconclusive.⁴⁵

But *The Goodli History of Luces* has a more important bearing upon the technique of the Elizabethan novel. So far as I know, it is the first story in Tudor England in which the plot is organically dependent for its advancement upon the instrument of the letter. Elyot's

⁴⁰ Roxburghe Club, Appendix, p. lvi.

⁴¹ Roxburghe Club reprint, p. 145.

⁴² For example, Appendix, p. xxxvi.

⁴³ For instance, the long disquisition on nobility and the frequent scandal of its origin, Reprint, p. 152; Appendix, pp. lx, f.

⁴⁴ Like that to Orpheus, p. xxxvi, which should appear on p. 115; part of the allusion to Jason, p. xlv, which should occur on p. 128.

⁴⁵ Jusserand, p. 83, seems to be of the opinion that the English translator rendered and adapted directly from the Latin.

version of *Titus and Gisippus* contains no epistles. *The Histoire of Aurelio and of Isabell* I have not seen, but its influence upon stories told for entertainment cannot be large. *The Goodli History of Lucre*s contains no less than ten letters. The first, from Eurialus to Lucre, makes known his love. The second, from Lucre in reply, declares her chastity and is aimed at discouraging her lover. In the third, Eurialus's first effort in Italian, he assures her of his belief in her chastity, but begs that she will allow him speech with her, so that he may "declare hys mynde, that he coulde not by hys letters." In the fourth, Lucre again refuses him, telling him that he is not the first victim of her beauty, but with it she sends a love token, a ring. The fifth is Eurialus's reaffirmation of his love and devotion, with thanks for the ring. Then, "after mani writings and answeres," Lucre replies with the sixth letter in the series, in which she desires him not to plead further, but with which she sends a cross of gold. Eurialus in the seventh, somewhat daunted by her aloofness, begs her to receive him as a lover. In the eighth she capitulates. "After thys were manye letters wryten on both partyes." Their courtship then progresses till Lucre discovers that Eurialus is to accompany the Emperor to Rome. At that she writes the ninth letter of the series, upbraiding her lover for not telling her and begging him to take her with him. He replies in the tenth that he must go because honor compels him, but bids her live and love him. Later they evidently correspond again. These letters therefore hold the beginning and the end of the lovers' relations.

Of the first three important English collections of stories, Painter's *Pallace of Pleasure* (1566-67), Fenton's *Tragicall Discourses* (1567), and Pettie's *Palace of Pet-*

tie his Pleasure (1576), all contain stories with letters. Eight of Painter's hundred tales employ the epistle.⁴⁶ Each of these eight stories without exception has its original in Bandello.⁴⁷ Of Fenton's thirteen stories, all translated from Bandello, eight have epistles, and two of the eight contain interchanges of letters.⁴⁸ So much for

⁴⁶ Painter, *Pallace of Pleasure*, Ed. Jacobs, London, 1890, 4 vols., Tome I: *Lucrece*, in which "Lucrece sent a post to Rome to her father and another to Ardea to her husband," but neither is given in full (Vol. I, p. 23). In the *Duchesse of Savoie*, in which the Duchess writes to Appian of her plight (p. 309); *The Countess of Salusburie*, in which King Edward writes to the Countess of his love, which previously he had declared orally (Vol. I, p. 343). Tome II: *The Countess of Celant*, in which the wicked Countess proffers her love to Gaizzo by letter (Vol. III, p. 61); *Two Gentlemen of Venice*, in which the lovers send each other a sonnet, called in the text, "a letter" (p. 129-130); *The Lord of Virile*, in which Philiberto woos Zelia by letter (pp. 166-167); *Don Diego and Ginevra*, in which by an epistle Ginevra declares her enmity and her lover replies (pp. 244-245). Again he protests his love (pp. 255, ff.); *The Lords of Nocera*, in which the mistress of the castle writes to Lord Nicholas proposing that he visit her.

⁴⁷ See Analytical Table of Contents, Vol. I, pp. lxiii, ff.

⁴⁸ *Certain Tragical Discourses of Bandello Translated into English by Geffraie Fenton*, Ed. R. L. Douglas, Tudor Translations, 2 vols., 1889: Discourse II, "Lyvyo writeth to Camilla," Vol. I, p. 121; Discourse III, Parthenope lays suit to the dissolute Pandora (Vol. I, pp. 138-39); when he has found her out and abandoned her, she writes to him upbraiding him (Vol. I, pp. 147-48); Discourse V, Cornelio writes to Plaudina, opening his addresses (Vol. I, pp. 198-99); she replies, arranging for further correspondence (pp. 200-201). It later appears (p. 204) that he has written "sondrye letters." Afterwards they exchange word by messenger (p. 212). At last Cornelio goes to Milan, where it is his first care to "send for an appoticarye whose fidelitie he had erst proved in the enterchaunge and conveighe of diverse letters betwene his ladie and hym." By this man he sent a letter (not given *verbatim*) to apprise Plaudina of his coming (p. 228); Discourse VI, an abbot writes to the daughter of a goldsmith, whom he is seducing (Vol. I, p. 257). Discourse VII, the Countess of Celant (cf. Painter, Vol. III, p. 61) procures a fresh lover by a letter

the earlier translations. Besides, five of Pettie's twelve novels contain letters, and among these five there are interchanges in three.⁴⁹ Now the important fact which unites *Lucres*, Painter, and Fenton is that the letters in every case are from Italian sources. It may therefore be said that the convention of the letter reached English fiction from the Italian.⁵⁰

Moreover, in the first stage of Elizabethan fiction, as represented by *Lucres*, Painter, and Fenton, the letter usually had two purposes: first, to begin a courtship; secondly, to end it. In the second stage, as represented by Pettie, it has outgrown its rudimentary use and is applied to other purposes, like offering and rejecting marriage, giving warning of the attitude of unsympathetic

(Vol. II, pp. 30-31). Discourse XI, Philiberto offers Zylia his love by letter (Vol. II, pp. 181-82). Discourse XII, Perillo, having met Carmosyna before, presses his suit by letter. She answers favorably. (Vol. II, pp. 220 ff.) Discourse XIII, when Diego's love for Genivera grows cold, she reproaches him by letter (Vol. II, pp. 276, ff.). Cf. Painter, Vol. III, pp. 224, f.

⁴⁹ *A Petite Palace of Pettie his Pleasure*, Ed. Gollancz, 2 vols. King's Classics. *Icilius and Virginia*: The lovers exchange letters, he proffering, she rejecting marriage (Vol. I, pp. 151 ff.). *Admetus and Alcest*: Alcest writes to Admetus, warning him that her father has discovered their love (Vol. I, pp. 177, ff.). After consideration, Admetus replies, pressing marriage (pp. 180-82). *Curiatius and Horatia*: Curiatius (Vol. II, pp. 41-42) will absent himself eternally from his queen, but she relents (pp. 42-43). *Minos and Pasiphae*: Verecundus seeks to seduce Minos's queen by letter (Vol. II, pp. 98-99). *Alexius*: Alexius is used to write letters for his recreation, addressing his wife. Here (Vol. II, pp. 153, ff.) he writes her a moral disquisition.

⁵⁰ William Fullwood's *Inimie of Idleness* contains a series of love letters for use as models. The rise of the letter in Elizabethan fiction was undoubtedly contemporary with its rise in Elizabethan life. Whether or not Æneas Sylvius was indebted to a collection of letters for the idea of the epistles in *De Duobus Amantibus*, I cannot say.

parents, and even inculcating moral precepts.⁵¹ The uses to which writers of later native fiction, like *The Golden Aphroditis* and *Euphues*, put the letter need not detain us here; the observation that the source is Italian is indubitable, and the course of artistic purpose as it evolved in English, beginning with *Lucrez*, gaining ground in Painter and Fenton, and finally emerging variously in Pettie, is clear.

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⁵¹ Painter, ed. Jacobs, vol. II, pp. 76, ff. The inculcation of moral doctrine by means of the epistle was anticipated by Painter's use of Guevara's *Letters of Trajan*.